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 C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 2822 COMBINED SECTION

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E.O. 12065: GDS 3/23/88 (MEEHAN, FRANCIS J.) DR-M
 TAGS: PEPR, PINT, PL
 SUBJ: POLISH SITUATION

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY. IN THE FOURTH MONTH OF MARTIAL LAW THE JARUZELSKI REGIME GIVES NO MORE SIGNS THAN BEFORE OF BEING WILLING TO MEET WESTERN CONDITIONS FOR RESUMPTION OF NORMAL RELATIONS. IN U.S. POLICY TERMS, THERE IS NO BASIS TO JUSTIFY MODIFICATION OF OUR SANCTIONS. WE SHOULD IN PARTICULAR NOT LET OURSELVES BE TAKEN IN BY THE REGIME'S EFFORTS TO PLAY ON U.S. SYMPATHIES IN THE CORN-FOR-STARVING-CHICKENS DEAL. NOR SHOULD WE BE DIVERTED BY THE FAKE ARGUMENT THAT THE WEST IS DRIVING JARUZELSKI INTO THE RUSSIANS' ARMS. THE GENERAL LOOKS PREPARED TO TOUGH IT OUT WITH US FOR A LONG TIME AND WE SHOULD LET HIM STEW IN THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES. AS A MEANS OF PRESSURE ON THE REGIME, WE SHOULD CONSIDER MOUNTING A MASSIVE "FREE WALESA" CAMPAIGN.

3. INTERNALLY, THE GENERALS ARE ENJOYING BEING IN CHARGE, AND JARUZELSKI EMERGES MORE CLEARLY AS BEING IN CHARGE OF THE GENERALS. THERE MAY BE INTERNAL DISORDERS IN THE TIME AHEAD, BUT AT THIS POINT JARUZELSKI LOOKS AS IF HE CAN STAY ON TOP OF THE SECURITY SITUATION. WHETHER HE CAN MOVE TOWARD NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IS MUCH MORE PROBLEMATIC. THERE ARE SIGNS OF INDECISION, AROUND JARUZELSKI, WITH RAKOWSKI POSSIBLY TRYING TO PERSUADE THE GENERAL TO TAKE THE BROADER APPROACH. THE POLITICAL INSECURITIES WHICH THIS SCENARIO SUGGESTS PROBABLY MEAN THAT JARUZELSKI WILL COME DOWN TO THE SECURITY SIDE IN THE PINCH. END SUMMARY.

4. NOW WELL INTO THE FOURTH MONTH OF MARTIAL LAW, WHAT IS THE SHAPE OF POLAND, BOTH THE INTERNAL ASPECTS AND ESPECIALLY FROM A U.S. POLICY VIEWPOINT?

5. FIRST, THE INTERNATIONAL SIDE. THE ASPECT "FROM-A-US-POLICY-VIEWPOINT" IS CLEAR. THE THREE CONDITIONS WE AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES LAID DOWN FOR A RETURN TO NORMAL RELATIONS REMAIN UNFULFILLED. THE INDICATIONS ARE THAT THAT IS HOW THINGS WILL STAY FOR A LONG TIME. POLISH OFFICIAL

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STATEMENTS DURING THE CODEL OBEY VISIT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MONTH COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE EXPLICIT, OR LESS FORTH-COMING, ON MARTIAL LAW, RELEASE OF DETAINEES, PARTICULARLY WALESA, AND RESUMPTION OF GENUINE DIALOGUE WITH SOLIDARITY.

6. I THINK IT IS TIME FOR US TO EMBARK ON A MAJOR "FREE WALESA" PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AS A MEANS OF EXERTING PRESSURE ON JARUZELSKI. THE REGIME'S FEAR OF WALESA WAS BROUGHT OUT PARTICULARLY CLEARLY IN CODEL OBEY'S MEETING WITH MINISTER OF TRADE UNION AFFAIRS CIOSEK. CIOSEK'S STATEMENT THAT WALESA WOULD HAVE TO REMAIN IN POLITICAL ISOLATION FOR A LONG TIME CONFIRMS THE REGIME'S INTENTION TO BREAK WALESA POLITICALLY, NOT BY PHYSICAL COERCION BUT THROUGH LETTING HIM VEGETATE. THERE IS SOMETHING GROTESQUE ABOUT A MODERN STATE DEPLOYING ITS RESOURCES MASSIVELY AGAINST A SINGLE INDIVIDUAL, A "SIMPLE WORKERS" AT THAT, TO THE EXTENT THAT EVEN HIS WHEREABOUTS ARE A STATE SECRET. THE CALLOUSNESS OF WALESA'S NOT BEING ALLOWED TO ATTEND THE NEW BABY'S CHRISTENING MARCH 21 IN GDANSK IS OFFENSIVE. A "FREE WALESA" CAMPAIGN WOULD SERVE TO PUT THE WESTERN CONDITION ON RELEASE OF PRISONERS IN A HIGHLY SPECIFIC WAY, EASILY GRASPED BY POLES AND FOREIGNERS ALIKE. IT WOULD DRAW THE LINE FIRMLY. UNTIL WALESA IS TRULY FREE, WE COULD INSIST, THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF MOVEMENT, INCLUDING ECONOMIC MOVEMENT ON OUR SIDE. IT WOULD, I BELIEVE, BE HIGHLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE POLISH PEOPLE.

7. THE JARUZELSKI REGIME'S INABILITY TO MOVE ON THE THREE WESTERN CONDITIONS IS STRIKING IN THE SENSE THAT THE POLITICAL ADVANTAGES OF MOVEMENT, ANY MOVEMENT, WOULD BE HIGH. THIS WOULD BE THE OBVIOUS ROUTE TO TAKE IN ORDER TO WORK FOR DIVISION IN THE WEST. THE GERMANS, IN PARTICULAR, SEEM TO HAVE BEEN PRACTICALLY DROOLING AT THE THOUGHT THAT "SIGNALS" WERE IN THE OFFING. YET RAKOWSKI COULD NOT DELIVER, OR EVEN PROMISE TO DELIVER, IN BONN IN DECEMBER, AND WEHNER SEEMS TO HAVE DRAWN A BLANK IN HIS FEBRUARY VISIT TO WARSAW, DESPITE ALL THE NICE THINGS HE TOLD THE POLES.

8. IN U.S. POLICY TERMS, THERE IS NOT THE SLIGHTEST BASIS TO JUSTIFY REAL MODIFICATION OF THE VARIOUS SANCTIONS TAKEN AGAINST THE REGIME FOLLOWING THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW. JARUZELSKI GIVES EVERY SIGN SO FAR OF BEING PREPARED TO TOUGH IT OUT WITH US, RELYING ON TIME, WESTERN BANKRS, AND OUR ALLIES TO WEAR US DOWN. THE REGIME SEEMS TO HAVE PICKED ON THE CORN-FOR-STARVING-CHICKENS DEAL AS A USEFUL LEVER FOR GETTING UNDER OUR SKIN -- AND UNDER OUR SANCTIONS. THEY ARE WORKING ON U.S. SYMPATHIES, NOTABLY THOSE OF U.S. PRIVATE RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS CARE. IN THE CODEL OBEY VISIT THEY WERE AWARE OF THE CONGRESSMEN'S SENSITIVITY ON THE POINT THAT OUR NOT SELLING THE CORN ON EASY TERMS MIGHT LEAD TO AN ANTI-US SWING IN POLISH PUBLIC OPINION, AND THEY WORKED THAT ANGLE CAREFULLY. WE SHOULD NOT LET OURSELVES BE TAKEN IN. I WOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE OUR CHANCES WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE, CORN OR NO CORN, AND AS WE TOLD THE CODEL, WE ARE IN ANY CASE NOT RPT NOT RUNNING IN A POPULARITY CONTEST IN POLAND. OUR POLICY PRIORITIES HAVE TO BE TO TAKE A POSITION WHICH RESPONDS FITTINGLY TO THE MARTIAL LAW SITUATION, WHICH

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WE HAVE DONE, AND TO STICK WITH IT UNTIL THE POLES GIVE US REASON TO CHANGE. HUMANITARIAN AID, PROPERLY SPEAKING, COULD CONTINUE, AND EVEN EXPAND, IN THIS POLICY FRAMEWORK.

9. WE WILL VERY LIKELY NOT HAVE MUCH FLEXIBILITY TOWARD JARUZELSKI AS A RESULT. WE ARE PRETTY WELL BOXED IN. SO IS HE. THIS POLICY STAND-OFF COULD GO ON FOR A LONG TIME. MUCH AS ONE MIGHT REGRET THIS ON THE GENERAL GROUND THAT WE HAVE REDUCED OPTIONS, WE SHOULD NOT BECOME IMPATIENT, OR START TRYING TO WORK AROUND IT JUST FOR THE SAKE OF MOVEMENT, OR OF OUR HUMAN SYMPATHIES FOR THE POLES. IT IS A TIME TO STAND.

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10. WE HAVE NOT BURDENED WASHINGTON WITH DETAILS, BUT THE POINT SHOULD BE MADE THAT THE REGIME IS EMBARKED ON A SUS-TAINED, VIRULENT ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN WHICH SEEMS TO ASPIRE TO RUSSIAN STANDARDS. THE POLISH PEOPLE ARE NOT FOOLED BY IT. IT IS SO HAMMY AND DULL THAT IT CAN HARDLY BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY -- EXCEPT IT SHOULD BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY AS WE CONSIDER OUR POLISH OPTIONS. JARUZELSKI'S PROPAGANDA MACHINE SEEMS TO WANT TO BURN THE BRIDGES TO THE U.S. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD REGISTER THAT FACT IN OUR OWN VIEW OF THE SITUATION -- AND LET THEM BURN. THE REGIME HAS A LOT MORE TO LOSE THAN WE DO IN THE PROCESS. AT THE SAME TIME WE SHOULD NOT OURSELVES TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO DESTROY CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LINKS WHICH STILL AFFORD US A WINDOW ON POLISH TIME IS OPPORTUNE.

11. REGIME REPRESENTATIVES MAKE A POINT, AS THEY DID WITH CODEL OBEY, OF HOLDING OUT A KIND OF THREAT THAT CURRENT U.S. (AND WESTERN) POLICIES LEAVE JARUZELSKI NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO GO THE RUSSIAN ROUTE. "WE ARE DRIVING HIM INTO THE RUSSIANS' ARMS." IS THE WAY IT IS PUT - QUAINLY, SINCE THE REGIME IS FIRMLY IN RUSSIAN ARMS OF ITS OWN VOLITION. I DO NOT BELIEVE WE SHOULD CONSIDER GOING TO UNUSUAL LENGTHS IN AN EFFORT TO GET IT OUT. RATHER, WE SHOULD TAKE THE POSITION THAT JARUZELSKI MADE HIS CHOICE DECEMBER 13. THE REGIME IS NOW MAKING A GREAT DEAL OF THE THEME THAT ITS TRUE FRIENDS ARE IN THE EAST, THAT THE WEST IS A SNARE AND A DELUSION. IT SHOULD BE LEFT TO ENJOY FULLY THE IMPLICATIONS OF THAT THESIS. LET IT GET ITS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM THE EAST AS WELL. THE ONLY CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANTING REVIEW ON OUR PART WOULD BE A POLITICAL CHANGE OF HEART ON JARUZELSKI'S PART WHICH IS NOT IN THE CARDS SO FAR AS ONE CAN SEE NOW.

12. SECOND, THE INTERNAL SIDE. THE GENERALS REMAIN TIGHTLY IN COMMENT, WITH THE CIVILIAN SIDE OF THE PARTY STILL FLOUNDER-ING IN VARIOUS SUB-CULTS. JARUZELSKI SEEMS CONTENT TO LET THEM HACK AWAY AT EACH OTHER. PERHAPS THAT MAKES IT EASIER FOR HIM AND THE OTHER GENERALS TO RUN THINGS. THE INTRA-PARTY QUARRELS DO NOT SEEM TO HAVE AFFECTED HIM NEGATIVELY SO FAR. THE IMPRESSION STRENGTHENS THAT THE GENERALS ARE ENJOYING BEING IN CHARGE, AND JARUZELSKI EMERGES MORE CLEARLY AS BEING IN CHARGE OF THE GENERALS. AS WE HAVE SAID PREVIOUSLY, THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO TURN IT ALL OVER TO SO FECKLESS AND UNDESCI-PLINED A BUNCH AS THE CONTENDING CIVILIANS SEEM TO BE.

13. BUT CAN THE MILITARY CONTAIN THE INTERNAL PRESSURES IN THE COUNTRY? I AM INCLINED TO THINK THE SECURITY APPARATUS, BACKED BY THE ARMED FORCES, CAN DO SO. THEY HAVE A MOST USEFUL DE FACTO ALLY IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. IT HAS ALREADY GIVEN THE REGIME VALUABLE AID WITH ITS APPEALS FOR CIVIC PEACE, AND IT WILL CONTINUE TO VIEW THAT AS THE PRIMARY POLITICAL GOAL. THE COMBINATION OF THE ARMED FORCES AND THE CHURCH WILL BE HARD TO BEAT. WHICH IS NOT TO SAY THERE WILL NOT BE TROUBLE, PERHAPS SERIOUS TROUBLE, BUT JARUZELSKI LOOKS AS IF HE CAN STAY ON TOP OF THE SECURITY SITUATION. LARGE-SCALE RUSSIAN MILITARY INTERVENTION (THE THIRD SCENARIO OF 81 WARSAW 12543) NOW SEEMS SOMEWHAT FURTHER DOWN ON THE HORIZON THAN IT DID IN EARLY FEBRUARY (WARSAW 1361).

14. A TIGHT INTERNAL SECURITY SITUATION IS THE ESSENTIAL BASIS OF JARUZELSKI'S RULE, BUT IT IS NOT IN ITSELF ENOUGH OF A POLICY TO GET THE COUNTRY MOVING. THE BROAD ISSUE THE GENERAL FACES DOMESTICALLY IS WHETHER TO CONTINUE HUNKERING DOWN IN A SECURITY POSTURE, OR TO SEEK TO ENGAGE THE SOCIAL FORCES OF THE COUNTRY POSITIVELY IN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROCESSES--AS HE HAS PROMISED HE WOULD EVER SINCE DECEMBER 13.

15. WE DO NOT KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT THE WORKINGS OF THE MILITARY

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COUNCIL, OR OF JARUZELSKI HIMSELF, TO SAY WITH MUCH ASSURANCE HOW THE BROAD ISSUE IS BEING ADDRESSED. THE EVIDENCE IS MIXED. THE CHURCH CONTINUES TO LAMENT THAT THE REGIME DOES NOT KNOW WHERE IT IS GOING, AND IT HAS BEEN NOTABLY UNSUCCESSFUL SO FAR IN ITS ATTEMPTS (SOME WOULD SAY THESE HAVE NOT BEEN VERY FORCEFUL TO PERSUADE THE GENERAL TO TAKE A NATIONAL CONCILIATION COURSE WHICH WOULD INCLUDE SOLIDARITY. CHURCH-STATE DIALOGUE WILL CONTINUE, HOWEVER, PRETTY MUCH AS WE HAVE SEEN IT DURING THE PAST THREE MONTHS. THERE WILL BE STRAINS, BUT I DOUBT THAT IT WILL COME TO A WRENCHING STRUGGLE BETWEEN THEM. THEY STILL NEED EACH OTHER TOO BADLY FOR THAT.

16. THE EVIDENCE IS FAR FROM CONCLUSIVE, BUT I HAVE THE IMPRESSION OF INDECISION AND LACK OF CLEAR DIRECTION CLOSE TO JARUZELSKI HIMSELF.

I SUSPECT THAT RAKOWSKI PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE. WE HEAR THAT HIS STANDING WITH THE GENERAL CONTINUES TO STRENGTHEN, AND SIGNS OF HIS INFLUENCE CROP UP -- AS, FOR EXAMPLE, IN JARUZELSKI'S MARCH 11 SPEECH (WARSAW 2541). THE JARUZELSKI PROJECTION FROM THAT STATEMENT IS VERY MUCH AN OPEN, NATIONAL ONE, LOOKING TO CONCILIATION AND CONSENSUS. MY GUESS IS THAT THIS REFLECTS RAKOWSKI THINKING. I SUSPECT THAT RAKOWSKI, HAVING ESTABLISHED HIS ORTHODOX CREDENTIALS OVER THE PAST YEAR, IS NOW TRYING TO EASE JARUZELSKI AWAY FROM WHAT ONE MIGHT ASSUME IS HIS NATURAL INSTINCT FOR DISCIPLINE, SACRIFICE, HARD WORK AND SELF-RELIANCE, THE CONVENTIONAL

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MILITARY-AUTHORITARIAN FORMULA FOR POLITICAL SOLUTIONS. RAKOWSKI IS PROBABLY MORE AWARE THAN MOST OF THE LIMITATIONS OF SUCH A FORMULA, OF THE LIKELIHOOD THAT IT WILL RUN UP DOMESTIC PRESSURES TOO HIGH FOR COMFORT.

17. ONE HAS THE IMPRESSION OF SOME OF HIS STATEMENTS THAT JARUZELSKI SEEMS THE LIMITATIONS TOO AND THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO FIND A BROADER BASIS IF -- AND IT IS A BIG IF -- IT CAN BE FOUND SAFELY. AND SO HE MAKES "LIBERAL" STATEMENTS, SUCH AS THAT OF MARCH 11, BUT THEN DRAWS BACK FROM THE PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS. IF THIS SUPPOSITION IS AT ALL ACCURATE, IT POINTS TO BASIC INSECURITIES ON THE REGIME'S PART AND IS A BAD AUGURY FOR PROGRESS. IT SUGGESTS THAT WHEREAS THE ECONOMICS OF THE SITUATION PULL THE REGIME WESTWARDS, THE EFFORT INVOLVES A HEAVIER POLITICAL BURDEN, NAMELY A GENUINE EFFORT AT NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, THAN THE SYSTEM CAN CARRY. JARUZELSKI HOPES NOT TO HAVE TO MAKE A HARD CHOICE BETWEEN WESTERN ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND SECURITY OF CONTROL AT HOME, BUT THERE IS NOT MUCH DOUBT THAT HE WILL CHOOSE THE LATTER IF PUSH COMES TO SHOVE.

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END OF MESSAGE

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